

Remember That Base and Slothful Coward Who Told People to Turn The Other Cheek?

"It is to be hoped that the exaltation of the ideal of peace may not favor the cowardice of those who fear that it may be their duty to give their lives for the service of their own country . . . and who seek only a flight from their responsibility. . . . Peace is not pacifism; it does not mask a base and slothful concept of life."

—Pope Paul VI proposing that New Year's Day be declared A Day of Peace.

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Who Sold Ike This Mad Blueprint For A Holy War in Asia?

In his memoirs Eisenhower wrote that in 1954 when he was being pressed to intervene militarily in Vietnam, he remarked that "if the United States were, unilaterally, to permit its forces to be drawn into conflict in Indochina and in a succession of Asian wars, the end result would be to drain off our resources and to weaken our overall defensive position." But now in his interview with the *New York Times* (Dec. 24) he implies that all Asia up to the Indian border—"and I'm not too sure about India either"—depends on our keeping South Vietnam "free and independent". The "dominoes" we must keep from falling extend to Japan and the Philippines. In all these countries he says "the will to resist" Communism will disappear if we do not win the war. This goes far beyond that "hot pursuit" into Cambodia and Laos or that "end run" into southern North Vietnam which Eisenhower and Gen. Bradley advocated in an amazingly light-headed television appearance some weeks earlier. This is nothing less than widening the war from a limited conflict in South Vietnam to an open-ended American obligation to maintain a military protectorate over all non-Communist Asia. This is to invite a gigantic hemorrhage of American manpower and resources.

Afraid to Be Too Candid

Eisenhower said the American people would be ready to see the Vietnamese war through to victory "once they understand" what is at stake. But he himself is not prepared to be wholly candid with them. For after arguing the danger to Japan and the Philippines, Eisenhower added, "Probably the less said about that right now the better, but the plain fact is that no prosperous free society based on the private enterprise system can expect to exist indefinitely alongside a sprawling police state like Communist China and its satellites." This

How Do You Count Bases You Can't Find?

"Intelligence officers in Vietnam say that the enemy uses six base and sanctuary areas in Cambodia."

—Hanson Baldwin, *New York Times*, Dec. 28.

"There are reports of at least 20 base camps along the Cambodian border."

—*Week in Review*, *New York Times*, Dec. 31.

"Despite all the speculation in recent weeks about a possible 'escalation' of the war into Cambodia and Laos, American military leaders are not much more concerned about enemy sanctuaries in those countries than they have been for the last two years."

"If all the political problems were removed, formidable military problems would remain. . . . The key problem is intelligence. . . . There are many unanswered questions about just where the base camps are. . . . To send troops into suspected areas . . . would involve a serious danger . . . [they] might be lured into well prepared ambushes and wiped out. . . . The other major alternative would be to hit the enemy base camps from the air . . . but the basic problem would remain: precisely where is the enemy located?"

—Orr Kelly from the Pentagon in Wash. Star Dec. 17

hints that ultimately we must wipe out Communism in China, North Korea and North Vietnam to make Japan and the Philippines as well as Southeast Asia and Indonesia secure. "Probably the less said about that right now the better" because if the American people were to become fully aware of what they were being sucked into, they would be more eager than ever to get out of Vietnam. Eisenhower says we cannot turn our backs on 13,000 dead in Vietnam. It would be better to stop now and consider that it might cost 13,000,000 lives to wage war against China.

This ideological view, implying that a war of such dimensions is inevitable, is very different from those Eisenhower held as President. Early in his Presidency, he also tells us in his memoirs, he called in Senate leaders to block a rightist resolution which would have cut off all U.S. contributions to the United Nations if

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Of Stone's Latest Collection

"IN A TIME OF TORMENT"

Laurence Stern, National Editor of *The Washington Post*, writes in a review in that paper (Dec. 28)—

For anyone to commit to one book their writings over so wide an ambit of subjects is to gamble dangerously with the reader's threshold of boredom and time's unparing test of relevance. Stone survives both challenges. . . . He is a journalistic pamphleteer in the highest sense of that anachronistic craft because he has an eye and mind for essentials.

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P.S. The distinguished and peppery critic, Conor Cruise O'Brien, has kindly consented to be chairman of the birthday party in Town Hall, New York, January 19 for the *Weekly's* 15th and Stone's 60th birthday. Tickets now available at only \$1 each. Better get your order in early. They're going fast.

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The CIA Proved As Poorly Informed As It Was in The Bay of Pigs Affair

Greece As An Object Lesson in The Failure of U.S. Intelligence

One aspect of last year's events in Greece has gone unnoted. It was the failure of U.S. intelligence in the coup of April 21 and the King's attempted counter-coup of December 13. One of the favorite arguments for military aid is that it gives the U.S. influence with the military caste of the recipient country. Yet the U.S. was taken by surprise when a junta of Colonels and Captains jumped the gun on the Big Junta of the Generals, the King and the U.S. Embassy * and established a dictatorship of their own last April, making the King their prisoner. When the King in December, with U.S. encouragement, tried to rally the Army and the people behind him, the U.S. was again caught unaware of the realities.

Even the Banks Remained Open

Greece has been a U.S. protectorate since 1947. Yet we did not know how weak were the Royalist Generals, how powerful the network of the Colonels and the Captains, how indifferent the people were to the King. The Generals favorable to him were quickly arrested by their own subordinates. The King's appeal evoked a yawn. The Junta did not even have to close the banks the day the King fled!

On the political side, U.S. policy in Greece has been based on the belief that the Monarchy was the foundation of stability, and rested on a deep loyalty among the people. This has proven wholly untrue. The CIA misjudged popular feeling in Greece as badly as

* For the best account we recommend "The Death of A Democracy: Greece and the American Conscience" by Stephen Rousseas (Grove Press) which is written with the burning indignation this shameful story deserves.

Fulbright Challenges Acheson's Cynical Defense of the Greek Military Junta

"Constitutional government and democracy are not the same thing. Britain has had the longest constitutional history of any state. But Britain had been a democracy for less than a century. Then, too, democracy is a slippery word. Athenian democracy was an oligarchy bottomed on slavery. The far flung Peoples Democratic Republics are based upon a system our rhetoric likens to slavery.

"Finally may I urge caution in warning them against 'authoritarian rule.' Greeks both ancient and modern have had grave trouble when they experimented with nonauthoritarian rule. (Probably modern Greeks have as little to do with ancient Greeks, as modern Brooklynites with their pre-Columbian predecessors.) Both had trouble from instability and poor judgment. Athens' greatest statesman, Pericles, led his city into a war in which it lost independence, constitution and democracy. In modern times Greece made sounder progress toward stable statehood under a half century of strong rule by King George I than at any time since. Certainly no friend of Greece would wish to see her return

With U.S. Help, In The Name of Freedom

Ditto for Vietnam, Greece and Korea

"Four years after a military faction took power and deceived the Armed Forces to satisfy the political ambitions of a half-dozen opportunists, the people are ever poorer. . . . Politically Brazil has regressed. The errors have been maintained and the means of correcting them prohibited."

—Former Governor Carlos Lacerda, a right-winger, once the darling of Readers' Digest, in a speech at Rio de Janeiro Dec. 27 in which he accused the Brazilian military regime of corruption "at the service of private American interests."

it misjudged popular feeling in Cuba at the time of the Bay of Pigs. On the military side, the events of April and December are almost incredible. It must have taken months of organization in a widespread conspiracy within the Army to organize the April seizure of power. How is it that our military intelligence knew so little about what was going on in the Greek armed forces?

Even nine months later we were still so poorly informed that we allowed our protégé, the King, to attempt a hopeless counter-coup. It was hopeless because the Generals no longer controlled the Army.

We were as blind about Constantine as we were about Ngo Dinh Diem, whose collapse also was unlamented. Not the least of the hazards implicit in our attempt to police the world are the disasters into which we may be—and have been—drawn by such extraordinarily faulty intelligence. The blurred eyes and stuffed ears of the CIA yet may prove a greater menace to national security than any outside enemy.

to the "constitutional government" of the two Papandreous the old fool and the young rascal, under which she was headed for Kerensky-like chaos, and possibly war with Turkey."

—Abridged from a letter by Dean Acheson to the Washington Post Dec. 20 objecting to an editorial advising the Greek Colonels to restore constitutional government.

"I note with interest Mr. Acheson's friendly feelings for the Greek dictators. Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on March 24, 1947, Mr. Acheson, then Acting Secretary of State, urged adoption of the Greek-Turkish aid program on the ground that, if we failed to provide such aid, 'the rule of an armed minority would fasten itself upon the people of Greece.'

"Making the same point even more explicitly, Mr. Acheson said: 'We would not, of course, want to continue this aid if we should find that our efforts were being frustrated by anti-democratic practices.'"

—From Sen. Fulbright's reply, Washington Post Dec. 28

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